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## CRITICAL NOTICES.

## Prof. Cheyne's Bampton Lectures.

*The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter in the Light of Old Testament Criticism and the History of Religions.* Bampton Lectures for 1889. By the Rev. Prof. T. K. CHEYNE, D.D. (London, 1891.)

THREE years after his *Commentary*, Prof. Cheyne's Bampton Lectures upon the Psalms, originally delivered in 1889, make their much-wished-for appearance. He had told us himself, in the preface to the *Commentary*, that that work was only to be looked upon as the first part of a fuller exposition. The promise then indicated is now redeemed. The *Origin of the Psalter* is a book worth waiting for.

Without pride or self-assertion, but with proper consciousness of their value and originality, the author of the Bampton Lectures has pointed out, in the interesting half-autobiographical introduction, how large is the material which is gathered together in his latest work. It is, perhaps, unadvisable to let another three months pass by without calling attention in this REVIEW to so important an addition to our literature upon the Psalms. But, under these circumstances, it would be presumptuous on my part to assume that I am in a position to adequately criticise Prof. Cheyne's book. My comments therefore will assume rather the character of a notice than of a review.

Of the eight Lectures, each of which is divided into two parts and followed by copious notes, the first five deal with the "Origin," the last three with the "Religious Contents" of the Psalter.

As the author observes, the first section "might be enlarged, with the help of the underlying researches, into a synthetic introduction to the Old Testament; the second into a historical sketch of post-Exilic Jewish religion down to the time of Christ" (p. ix.). This possibility, which every Biblical student must earnestly wish that Prof. Cheyne may himself convert into an achieved reality, will show what an amount of varied material is included in the book. "The notes" do indeed "abound in historical and exegetical matter, and the store of facts in the linguistic appendix can hardly fail to be helpful to the Hebraist" (p. xxx.). Very interesting is the combination of frankest criticism with deep reverence and spirituality. Prof. Cheyne points out

how an unprejudiced and uncompromising exegesis has but quickened and increased his admiration and love for the Old Testament Scriptures, and how, for him at any rate, rationalism and mysticism have been no mutual antagonists, but have unitedly helped him forward to a better appreciation of either's claims, and to the clearer perception of that "higher region where contradictions repose in the light of God's truth" (p. xiv.). The Bampton Lectures contain some very plain speaking on divers delicate critical questions; but they are clearly written from the most sincerely religious, and even, let me add, from the most sincerely Christian point of view. It does not follow that the combination of intellectual and spiritual gifts which distinguishes Prof. Cheyne may be obtainable by all his readers, or, consequently, that his conception of some religious problems may prove to them intelligible and satisfactory. But the peculiarity of this combination makes its literary product all the more interesting and suggestive.

The many-sidedness of Prof. Cheyne's book makes it by no means easy reading; or, rather, a cursory perusal does not allow one to realise the area which it covers. It needs many readings to appreciate it fully. Its difficulty is increased by the lecture form. Neither the "Origin" nor the "Religious Contents" portion is presented in a systematic and articulate manner, although the first contains a complete analysis of the Psalter's various dates, and the second at least touches, whether in text or note, on almost all the more important religious conceptions of the Psalms.

The subject of the Psalter's origin is treated in the order of discovery, and this, perhaps, was the better way for sermons or lectures. It is scarcely, however, the more desirable way for a permanent book, and it tends occasionally to obscure the greatness of the main conclusion. Prof. Cheyne practically goes through the Psalms *seriatim*, but in the reverse order. The two latest books (xc.—cl.) are taken first; the date of their collection is fixed, and the individual Psalms in them are then assigned to their respective periods. It is thus found that no Psalm in this collection is earlier than the return from Babylon, 536 B.C. A similar procedure is adopted for Books III., II., and I., and it is ultimately discovered that, with a single possible exception (Ps. xviii.), every Psalm in these first three books also belongs to the post-Exilic period. Thus the grand conclusion is that the entire Psalter was the product of post-exilic history. In addition, however, to the particular reasons which may prevent the author from assigning any given psalm to the era of the Monarchy—reasons which can only be adduced at the consideration of that individual Psalm—there are a number of general reasons which drive him to that opinion for the Psalter as a

whole. It would have been more impressive, and it would have avoided considerable repetition, had these reasons been fully stated at the outset, rather than occasionally and indirectly alluded to in a number of separate places. The same (seemingly unnecessary) repetition is also noticeable in the grouping of the Psalms in their respective periods. The Psalms, *e.g.* of the Persian, Greek, or Maccabean era, are not all disposed of together, but in each of the five books each Psalm, or each small group of Psalms, is referred to its own particular period. Thus the tests and sign marks of each period have necessarily to be alluded to again and again, and this iteration is occasionally a little trying.

To younger students, or to those who are unacquainted with the drift of the later German and Dutch criticism, the main thesis of the lecturer's first section—the post-Exilic date of the entire Psalter—will be presumably the most startling and interesting feature of the whole work. It is not, of course, the most original. For as regards that first section, it is not in assigning the Psalter to the post-Exilic era that Prof. Cheyne has shown his originality and critical independence, although the proofs for this date have nowhere else, that I know of, been so fully and patiently given; but in the attempted allocation of the separate Psalms to distinctive periods within that era itself. Of this portion of his work a few words must be said later on. I will now go back to what I ventured to call the main thesis and grand conclusion of the first part—the post-Exilic origin of the entire Psalter.

This conclusion will be a bitter pill for many a reader, whether Jewish or Christian, to swallow. It is hard for many people to give up the traditional David. And, again, for most persons the pre-Exilic period of Jewish history is the more interesting and the more familiar. After Ezra the Bible history is ended, and even the Maccabean heroes, as Prof. Cheyne rightly complains, are somewhat vague and shadowy personalities for the mass of Jews and Protestants, whose canon of Sacred Scriptures does not include the Apocrypha. And now we are told that the most precious portion of the Bible altogether belongs to this dark and unfamiliar age, while the great majority of the Psalms (roughly, 107 out of 150) are to be assigned to that long blank period, empty of all known names or deeds, which stretches between Nehemiah and Judas the Maccabee. Nor is this all. We have to learn that the loss of David is a clear gain. "Everywhere the Psalter becomes more and not less human when regarded as the utterance of the nation" (p. 264, and note *k*, p. 276). To many, as Prof. Cheyne well knows, what to him "is affirmation and discovery, to them is negation and loss" (p. 74). Many an orthodox reader will be astonished to hear that "if the

Psalter, as a whole, is post-Exilic, the Christian apologist of the nineteenth century has everything to gain" (p. xxxi.).

It may then, perhaps, lead to a better appreciation and a clearer understanding of Prof. Cheyne's book for the younger student or general reader if I attempt, without any reference to particular Psalms, to answer the question : Why is the Psalter a product of the post-Exilic Period ?

There are three general reasons. But reason number one is so large that it seems almost absurd to mention it. For it involves the whole theory of the newer Biblical criticism. Stated briefly, it comes to this : the Psalter is post-Exilic because of its developed religion. It is the lyric and liturgical reflection of the prophetic teaching, which could only arise when that teaching had been absorbed by an entire community. The monotheism which culminates in the doctrine of the Babylonian Isaiah is the assumption and starting-point of the Psalter. The Psalmists depend upon the Prophets, and succeed them. If these statements be true, it is obvious that they absolutely forbid the ascription of any Psalms to the pre-prophetic era. David's epoch is out of the question. Prof. Cheyne is always tender and considerate in dealing with points like these, but his language is wholly unreserved. "As critics, we cannot consistently suppose that the religious songs of David (if there were any) were as much above the spiritual capacities of the people as the Psalms, which, I will not say the later Jews, but which Ewald or Hitzig or Delitzsch assign to him. It would be only a step further to accept the Christianisation of David in Browning's well-known masterpiece" (p. 192, cp. 194). For the period reaching from Amos to the fall of the Jewish State, the prophets, so far as we know, were too isolated and exceptional preachers of the higher religion to admit of the existence of a number of sacred song-writers, such as the authors of the Psalter.

Prof. Cheyne indirectly bases a good deal upon this argument. Thus, with regard to Psalms xlv. and xlviii. he rightly says : "The Jewish Church in Isaiah's time was far too germinal to have sung these expressions of daring monotheism and impassioned love of the temple" (p. 164). And, again, of Psalm vii. : "A church-psalm, in the proper sense of the word, is to me inconceivable as early as Jeremiah" (p. 196).

This last quotation leads on to the second general reason for seeking the origin of the Psalter in the post-Exilic period. That reason is found in the character of the Psalms themselves. What is the nature of that poem which we call a psalm ? It is becoming more and more clear that the Psalms are closely connected with the community of Israel as a whole. Many are directly liturgical in

character, and were designed for temple use. In others there may have been an intention to sing them in the synagogues (p. 363). The Psalms are intensely national, or, more properly, they are intensely congregational. Israel as a whole, or the true Israel, as represented by the writer and his party, is almost invariably the subject of every Psalm. It follows that the Psalms could only have been composed at a time when there already existed a religious Israel, a *Keneset Yisrael*, conscious of its peculiar position and destiny among the nations of the world. In modern or Christian language it is the Jewish Church which produced the Psalms. "It is the consciousness of the Church, or of some leading members of the Church, which finds a voice in every part of the Psalter" (p. 258). Now, the nation of Israel did not become the congregation or Church of Israel till after the purgation of the Exile. The Psalms, then, which were conditioned by, and are the outcome of, that "Church consciousness," cannot have been written before the Exile.

The congregational and collective character of many Psalms (chiefly in the later books) is immediately obvious. That character is, however, to be extended almost to the entire collection, if Prof. Cheyne is right in holding that "it can be shown that in most cases, when the Psalmist uses the first person singular, the speaker is really either the Church or a typical pious Israelite" (p. 258 fin.). Our author is a strong but temperate advocate of the personification theory, in which, as he points out, modern exegesis has reverted to an ancient and mediæval interpretation. Students must carefully consider what he has to say upon this all-important question, and may usefully compare his utterances with Smend's more one-sided essay, *Ueber das Ich der Psalmen*, in Stade's *Zeitschrift* for 1888. Such a comparison will be all the more useful since Prof. Cheyne's views upon this subject, expressed both in his lectures and his commentary, were "formed independently of Smend," though he has been much helped by Olshausen, also a thorough-going exponent of the personification theory. But for those who naturally think that the religious value and applicability of the Psalter are lessened if the "I" be usually a "We," with whom the "I" feels himself identified in sympathy and interest, I will quote here a few very telling sentences from the sixth Lecture.

The religious poetry of Israel was fervent, just because its writers spoke for the community, having absorbed that passionate love of God and country which glowed in each of its members. . . . Never were there such prayers and praises as those of Israel, precisely because in the psalmists as such the individual consciousness was all but lost in the corporate. . . . Rarely do the Hebrew psalmists disclose their personality. They had, indeed, their private

joys and sorrows, but they did not make these the theme of song. The individual consciousness was not sufficiently developed for this, and so an unselfish religion was easier for them than it is for us. . . . In those parts of the Psalter which sound most distinctly individualistic, let us recognise the voice sometimes of the suffering and sin-conscious or jubilant and forgiven people of Israel, sometimes of the self-forgetting poet who accepts his share of the experiences of his people (p. 263-265).

It should be noticed, however, that Prof. Cheyne is on his guard against exaggeration. Compare his limiting remarks and qualifications on pp. 77, 122 top, 134, 248, 265, etc. Especially valuable is it that Prof. Cheyne admits and even emphasises the individual and personal character of some of the "mystic" Psalms.

It is not the Church but an individual who tells us in the 139th psalm that sleeping or waking he is ever busy with the thought of God (ver. 18), and an individual who in the 73rd so trustfully alludes to the plan by which his God leads him (ver. 24). Nor can the lovely 23rd psalm have merely a national reference, as some theorists have persuaded themselves, unless indeed the allegory in John x. can have a similarly restricted meaning. Which of us, even if we be critics, can believe that the writers of these Psalms do not pray in their own behalf? Yet we must with all emphasis affirm that the individual never felt himself standing alone—instinctively he connected his personal joys and griefs with those of the Church-nation. (P. 319 fin.; 320 init. Cp. p. 377 note *j*, and p. 385.)

The third general reason for the post-Exilic origin of the Psalter is of a more literary character, and often depends upon other critical conclusions opposed to the opinions of tradition. The Psalter is full of references and parallels to other portions of Scripture. Some of these are clearly imitative; others are merely the result of similar circumstances and contemporary thought. If, then, the imitated or parallel passages are Exilic or post-Exilic, the Psalms in which the imitations and parallels occur are to be surely dated after the Return. If *e.g.* Zech. xii.-xiv. and Isaiah xxiv.-xxvii., are post-Exilic, the Psalms which are cognate to these fragments of prophecy are post-Exilic also. If the Priestly code was not accepted till Ezra, and if the legal period begins with his and Nehemiah's reforms, then the Psalms which sing the praises of the Law, and have other nomistic peculiarities, are at least of a post-Nehemian date. Such arguments may seem to an outsider to be reasonings within a circle, but they are really inferences from the more certain to the less certain, and as such are wholly justifiable. Still more conclusive and perspicuous are deductions drawn from imitations or parallels from acknowledged Exilic writers, such as II. Isaiah, or from those who are at least not earlier than the Exile, such as the author of Job.

The counter-arguments for a pre-Exilic date of individual Psalms can usually be met by rebutting evidence that greatly diminishes

their value. Thus, the frequent references to events in the pre-Exilic history, as if these had been but recently enacted before the Psalmist's eyes may be supposed to favour a pre-Exilic origin for the Psalms wherein they occur. But in truth such references are only "introduced dramatically" (p. 52); "dramatic lyrics" are a creation of the Psalmist's (p. 70). This dramatic element is either typical or didactic; both usages of past history are of themselves decisive against a pre-Exilic date (pp. 157, 165). Or, again, the references to kings may seem to argue for the era of the monarchy. But Prof. Cheyne shows that in the post-Exilic period there were also princes, both Jewish and foreign, to whom such passages may apply with equal aptitude. The Temple was no special characteristic of the monarchy, and it is odd to find Graetz sometimes using allusions to it as a mark of pre-Exilic date. Such allusions tell precisely in the contrary direction. That peculiar love of the single Divine sanctuary, so prominent in the Psalter, was not known in the days before the Exile (cf. pp. 316, 125 note *d*).

If, then, the Psalter (with the possible exception of Psalm xviii., pp. 205, 206) be entirely post-Exilic, can we be satisfied with such a vague relegation of its one hundred and fifty songs to a period extending over four hundred years? How far may it not be possible to assign the Psalms to particular sub-divisions of this period, and in doing so to watch and illustrate the better the internal history of Judaism in the long years between the age of Zerubbabel and the age of Simon the Maccabee? This is what Prof. Cheyne has essayed to do, and herein, as I mentioned before, lies the most original feature of the "Origin" portion of his book. The *terminus a quo* is the return from Babylon 536; the *terminus ad quem* is the death of Simon, 135 B.C.

These four hundred years fall into five divisions. The first extends from the return in 536 to the reform of Ezra in 444. The second may roughly be said to reach from Ezra to the middle of the reign of Artaxerxes II., and the tyranny of Bagoses (444—384) (Josephus *Antiq* XI. vii. 1). The third division comprises the remainder of the Persian period, and includes the evil days of Artaxerxes III. so often referred to in Prof. Cheyne's pages. As only very few (fifteen) Psalms are assigned to the first division, 536-444, the two main divisions of the Persian period for Psalmic purposes are those from 444 to 384, and from 384 to 333, the year of Issus and the overthrow of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great. To these two divisions are assigned thirty-one and a-half and fifty-five Psalms respectively. Then, as division four, follows the Greek, but pre-Maccabean period, extending from 333 to about 170. To these years twenty and a-half Psalms are



given. Lastly, there comes the Maccabean era, from 170 to the death of Simon in 135; to these thirty-five years are allocated twenty-seven Psalms.

In addition to the evidence of the single Psalms themselves and to the help provided by the comparative method, viewing the Psalms, that is, "in the light of other Old Testament productions, the date of which has been approximately fixed" (p. xxxi.), Prof. Cheyne has arrived at his results by a careful consideration of the separate Psalters within the Psalter, and of what they imply as to date and origin of their respective collections, and more particularly by an elaborate study of the groups of Psalms which are discoverable within the entire book. Upon this study of the Psalms in groups he lays great stress (p. 9). By groups Prof. Cheyne means small collections of consecutive or nearly consecutive Psalms, which also possess common characteristics, though, of course, there are also groups formed by similarities of idea or phrase which are not necessarily in close local contiguity with each other, or again, a contiguous group may have outlying connections. Certain canons of criticism as regards date follow from the group theory. Thus, one should "regard all members of a group which have common characteristics as belonging to the same period" (p. 121). And thus, too, if some Psalms of any one group show marked characteristics of a particular period, it is reasonable to assign the remainder of the Psalms of that group to the same period, although the required characteristics in them are far less distinctly defined.

Each division of the post-Exile period has its own peculiar features, which can be applied as tests to any single Psalm or group. Omitting here for brevity's sake the pre-Nehemian period to which ten Psalms are referred, and omitting also the five Psalms which are contemporary with and allude to the events of Nehemiah's career, there remain the four other periods from 444 to 135, into which a hundred and thirty-four Psalms are fitted. The first is the earlier Persian period of some sixty years' duration, from the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah to the middle of the reign of Artaxerxes II. (444—383). Upon the whole this was an era of quiet and prosperity, and Prof. Cheyne is inclined to ascribe to it such happier and more restful Psalms as do not show distinct marks of a later date. Thus Psalms xci. and xcii. were probably written "in that new sense of security and of energy awakened by Ezra and Nehemiah" (p. 73), while many of the happier songs of degrees fall within the same epoch (*e.g.*, cxxxiii., cxxi., cxxii., cxxiv.—cxxix.). Among Psalms of the first book which are placed in this division of the Persian period are xv., xxiii., xxiv., xxv., xxxii., xxxiv., xxxvi., and xxxvii.

When we reach the second division of the Persian period the

tests become more numerous. First, there are the literary or religious parallels to the comparatively numerous fragments of prophecy which belong to the same era. But secondly, and mainly, it was a time of trouble and persecution, of exile and apostasy. There was danger both without and within. Even the pious had begun to despond, and to question impatiently when and whether the covenant love of Yahveh towards his chosen people would be triumphantly revealed. It was a half century fruitful in Psalm literature. No less than fifty-five Psalms, according to Prof. Cheyne, belong to it, and undoubtedly, if these are rightly placed, they throw much light upon an epoch of which we otherwise know nothing except from a few sentences of Josephus and a highly important incidental note in the "early chronologist" Syncellus (p. 53 and p. 61, note *v.*, p. 72 fin., etc., and cf. Graetz, "The Last Chapter of Zechariah," *JEWISH QUARTERLY REVIEW*, pp. 208—219, vol. III.)

The pre-Maccabean Greek period is responsible for some twenty Psalms. Among its marks are allusions "to the expansion of the Church of Israel into the Church universal." "Conversions from heathenism" were then effected "not only at home, but abroad" (pp. 119, 131, cf. 33 note *q.*) For "it is in Psalms not improbably of the early Greek period that we find those pure expressions of catholicity—Ps. lxxxvi. 5, 9, 10, and above all Ps. lxxxvii., and if I may venture to assume no improbable hypothesis, the admission of a righteous foreign king among the number of the friends of Jehovah" (p. 296). The second half of this sentence refers to the author's theory, most ingeniously if not convincingly presented and worked out, that Psalms xlv. and lxxii. were written in praise of that friendly and upright sovereign Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt (pp. 141—146, 166—174).<sup>1</sup> But as the 160 years of the Greek period rolled by, darker features became more prominent. There was the "early Hellenistic paganising movement described by Josephus" (p. 198). This produced an anti-Hellenistic reaction, in which the term *khasidim* became first used as a distinct party name in the community. The reaction deepened into an "internal struggle of growing intensity which preceded the violent measures of Antiochus Epiphanes." Of that struggle Psalm cxix. "in particular contains traces" (p. 51).

The tests for the Maccabean era are very marked. They are clearly enunciated on pp. 16 and 95, and need not therefore be repeated here. Prof. Cheyne is cautious and temperate on the vexed question of Maccabean psalms. While avoiding the exaggerations of Hitzig and Olshausen, he has yet to my mind conclusively proved that such psalms there are. Of the twenty-seven Psalms which he allocates to this

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<sup>1</sup> This is Hitzig's theory too as regards Psalm lxxii.

period, he is able in almost every case to suggest a probable incident or person to which or to whom they refer. Most generally interesting will perhaps be his ascription of Ps. cx., together with xx., xxi., lxi., lxiii. to Simon. As regards cx. his hypothesis seems to me extremely probable. The appendix "Last words on Maccabæan Psalms" conveniently "chronicles the results of some former writers" (including Graetz); and then "sums up" his own.

Many scholars of different schools will have to study and sift Prof. Cheyne's conclusions as to the "Origin of the Psalter." Even if he is right, as I personally think that he is, in relegating the entire collection to the post-Exile era, the allocation of the separate Psalms to their respective periods will naturally need occasional correction, and certainly incur criticism. Of course Prof. Cheyne himself admits, nay, even emphasizes, that many of his results are only probable or tentative. It is not always possible for him to decide whether a given Psalm is of the Greek or Maccabæan period, or again of the Persian or the Greek.

Difficulties here and there easily suggest themselves. Why, for instance, are the very earliest Psalms in the Psalter—*i.e.* xcvi.-c. (written, according to Prof. Cheyne, at the completion of the second temple, 515) not found in the "earliest of the minor Psalters," but in the latest collection? Are they not poems as striking as Psalm cxxxvii.? (p. 70 init.).<sup>1</sup> Sometimes again the tests for the respective periods strike one as insufficiently marked, or it seems as if the same tests were occasionally applied to more than one division. Thus for instance, in assigning Psalms vii. and xvii. to the second half of the Persian period, it is stated that "it is no objection to this [date] that a strong consciousness of legal righteousness is expressed" in them (page 229; cf. p. 91). On page 119 the contrast between lxxxvi. 2, in which "the speaker pleads for preservation on the ground of his piety" and cxliii. 2, in which "he deprecates judgment because before God no man living is righteous," is noted as a significant difference, fortifying the opinion that Psalm cxliii. belongs to the Persian period, and Psalm lxxxvi. to the succeeding or Hellenic age. It seems odd, though the contradiction is not much more than verbal, to read on page 48, "in itself the term *Khasidim* is not distinctively Maccabean," and on page 49, to find the words "that distinctively Maccabean term *Khasidim*." Occasionally one doubts whether to the troublous times of Artaxerxes II., and especially of Artaxerxes III. there has not been given too rich and manifold a productivity. The second half of the Persian period may tend to

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<sup>1</sup> Hitzig and Olshausen's relegation of these Psalms to the Maccabean period is not impossible.

become perhaps "somewhat too full of literature, especially considering the troubles of the time," just as the seventh century did with previous critics (page 135). But such criticisms as these are comparatively insignificant. The point remains that Prof. Cheyne's allocations are upon the whole intelligible and explanatory. They throw light both upon the Psalms themselves and upon the general course of post-Exilic Judaism, and it may be expected with some confidence that a large number of them will stand the test of present criticism as well as of future study.

The Psalter being thus proved to be a manual of post-Exilic piety, it has become the most valuable and sincere exponent which we possess of varying church opinions in matters religious and theological from about 516 to 136 B.C. Prof. Cheyne's last three lectures deal with the religious contents of the Psalms, and as the eighth lecture has been greatly expanded since its delivery, this second portion of his work constitutes about four-ninths of the whole. The necessary limits of a review do not allow me to enter with any adequate fulness upon the consideration of this second, and to many readers more interesting section.

It would have been more satisfactory if at least as many lectures as were devoted to the "origin" could have been allotted to the "contents." For the exposition is at times too sketchy, and the transitions not marked with sufficient clearness. Divers points of interest have to be relegated to the notes (Psalmist's conception of sin; God's holiness, etc.). The three most important subjects dealt with, though at very unequal length, are: first, the Messianic element in the Psalter; secondly, the influence of Zoroastrianism upon post-Exilic Jewish thought; thirdly, and in close connection with this, the question whether and in what form the doctrines of immortality and judgment after death are to be met with in the Psalms.

The second part of the sixth Lecture is mainly occupied with a discussion upon the anthropomorphisms of the Psalter, the name Yabveh, or Jehovah, and its meaning to the Psalmists; and lastly, with the universalist and particularist elements so curiously mingled in the Psalter. Here, so far as our knowledge of the Psalter itself is concerned, there is little new, but the remarks upon the word Jehovah, and the justifications for its modern use are very interesting and suggestive (pp. 287—291). The same may be said of Lecture VII., Part I., which discusses, without much novelty but in a fresh and stimulating way, the Psalmists' conceptions of heaven and the temple, together with the various divine agencies, such as the Word, the Spirit, and the Angels, that became as it were the links between the transcendental God and the world of nature and of man. Prof. Cheyne is thoroughly in his element when-

ever he touches on the mythic elements of, or on the conscious employment of mythic terms in the Bible ; and so here again we find some useful and excellent remarks. Characteristic is the close of the penultimate paragraph of this part :—

. . . . . Myths are not necessarily fables, and are wholly exempt from the criticism of the lower reason. Some myths at least were regarded in the early Church as symbols of truths which could not otherwise be expressed. And can it be shown that the capacity of man for apprehending supersensible facts has been materially widened? Cannot poetry still enter where dogmatic theology stands without? (p. 326).

Lecture VII., Part II., discusses the deepened and purer conception of God in the post-Exilic period, and how Israel's divine shepherd was now no mere chieftain or ruler, but an educator and friend. At the close of the section there are some very good remarks upon the Law, both in a narrower and wider sense, as one of the means whereby "Jehovah guides or educates his flock." These remarks are introduced by the pregnant sentence: "The religion of Israel could never have risen so high [as it did in the post-Exilic period] had it been always under the tutelage even of prophets like Isaiah" (p. 348), and they are ended at the foot of the next page by its being pointed out, in words that will, I fancy, even satisfy Mr. Schechter, that the Jewish conception of Law had "become transformed."

To the early Israelites a law was an ordinance and nothing more, but to restored Israel it formed part of a rule of life, divine in its origin, but human in its exquisite adaptation to the circumstances of the people. Penalties might give this rule a frowning aspect, but only to those who saw not that righteousness was the one condition of Israel's continuance and of the Messianic salvation. It was from the consciousness of this that more and more the Israelites regarded the Law as the crowning proof of Jehovah's love. "He declared his word unto Jacob, his statutes and ordinances unto Israel" (Ps. cxlvii. 19) is the climax of thanksgiving to a contemporary of Simon the Maccabee; and one of the oldest prayers in the Jewish liturgy calls upon 'our Father' and 'our King' to "teach us, as thou didst teach our fathers, statutes of life" (p. 349 fin.).

In the first section of the eighth Lecture it is, however, ably shown that "it was not possible to erect the 'Mosaic' Law into an absolute standard of religious truth." For "the growing regard in the Church for the records of the old prophecy protested against it" (p. 364). Leviticus vi. 8, "This is the law of the burnt-offering" was in too flagrant a contradiction to Jeremiah vii. 22, "I spake not unto your fathers . . . . concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices," and "how could Jeremiah and (the Second) Isaiah be said to be on a lower level than Moses? Hence 'Moses and the Prophets' together were honoured as the Torah in the wider sense, and were fully recognised as such in the Sabbath lessons of the Synagogues" (pp. 364—366).

Prof. Cheyne goes on to point out that "the inevitable result of the variety in the contents of the Torah was the growth, first of all, of schools of thought," subsequently in post-Psalter times developing into "societies and sects or parties." The varying "schools of thought" he illustrates from the Psalter's varying attitude towards sacrifices, touching with marked sympathy upon the Psalms of the "Puritan school" (xl.a, l., li.). Psalmist conceptions of repentance and obedience, and lastly, as conditioning the former, of the Divine loving-kindness (יְהוָה), conclude the section (pp. 363—374). On such semi-technical words of the Psalter's religious vocabulary as חַסֵּד, Prof. Cheyne is always at his best, and his remarks upon חַסֵּד in this lecture, with the accompanying notes, may be profitably compared with and added to his discussions upon the same word in his commentaries both upon the Psalms and Hosea.

The three main points of interest indicated above in the "religious contents" portion of Prof. Cheyne's book are precisely those on which least can here be said, as each for its proper discussion and criticism would involve an essay for itself. My remarks can therefore be but brief and purely analytical in character.

"The Psalter," says Prof. Stade somewhere, "is the most Messianic book in the Old Testament." Prof. Cheyne takes a different view. First, as to the question of a personal Messiah. He now holds that no Psalm directly foretells or alludes to the coming of any such *individual*. Psalms xlv. and lxxii. refer to a present and not to a future king, *i.e.*, Ptolemy Philadelphus. Thus, when the poet of the latter Psalm says: "His name shall last for ever; while the sun shines his name shall be perpetuated; and men shall bless themselves in him, all nations shall tell of his felicity," all that is meant is, "May the Messianic promises be visibly fulfilled in and through this kind and equitable ruler" (p. 145). Psalm cx. is "a glorification of Simon" the Maccabee (p. 24). The writer regards his own Maccabean times as "germinally Messianic. . . . The Asmonæan family will, as the Psalmist believes, furnish a line of Messianic princes, whose victories will become more and more splendid till they correspond to the grand description in Psalm ii." (p. 22). Psalm ii., on the other hand, is a "dramatic lyric." In it "the writer throws himself back into a distant age," namely, "the Davidic or Solomonic."

In Psalm xviii. the idealising poet speaks in the name of David, as if the world's dominion were already his. It was only a step further for another poet to speak in the name of the king (see Ps. ii. 7-9), as if that dominion not only had been won, but was now being disputed by rebel kings. Psalm ii. is therefore the complement of Psalm xviii., but written from a later point of view. [It belongs to the late Persian or early Greek period.] Like that Psalm it prophesies of the Messiah, but only to one who can 'pierce below the

surface,' and recognise that spirit or tendency which carries a poet beyond himself, and makes his words symbolically prophetic (p. 239 fin.).

Secondly, such Psalms as xxiv. and xlvii. Prof. Cheyne interprets of the present or immediate past, not of the future (p. 350, note c). Lastly, in such Psalms as xxii., just as in the Servant passages of II. Isaiah, the "I" is a personification. I ventured in 1888, while reviewing Prof. Cheyne's Commentary, to doubt whether an interpretation "naturally delightful to a Christian" had not suggested his then individualist and prophetic interpretation of Psalm xxii. The present lectures justify the suspicion of three years ago. It is now stated that "the complaints of Psalm xxii. are uttered by the faithful in Jerusalem, who are the kernel of the restored nation, and in whom the genius of Israel is most adequately represented" (p. 263). "In Isaiah liii. likewise it is the genius of Israel as personified, not in one historic personage alone, but in the Israel *κατὰ πνεῦμα*, which speaks" (p. 264, cp. 275, note h).

Of all the various groups of Messianic Psalms Prof. Cheyne justly sums up the character in the following weighty paragraph :—

All these Psalms are (let me say it again, for it concerns modern apologists to be frank) only Messianic in a sense which is psychologically justifiable. They are, as I have shown, neither typically, nor in the ordinary sense, prophetically Messianic. What is the fundamental idea of the Messianic Psalms? Simply this—that the people of Israel is to work out the Divine purposes in the earth, and to do this with such utter self-forgetfulness that each of its own successes shall add but a fresh jewel to Jehovah's crown. Whether a king (past, present, or future), or the people of Israel, is referred to, makes no difference. The Messianic king is primarily the representative of the Messianic people. Special gifts are only granted to him that he may the better lead the people to the conquest of the nations. And the final aim is that with or against their will all mankind may be united under the righteous sway of Jehovah. Even in that grandest of the more strictly Messianic Psalms, in which the king enthroned on Zion is called the 'Son of Jehovah' Himself (Psalm ii. 7), the concluding verses point us to the heavenly King as the true Lord of the nations, and pronounce those alone happy who take refuge in Him (p. 340).

The second point of special interest indicated above was the influence of Zoroastrianism upon post-Exilic Jewish thought, especially in the direction of the doctrine of the future life. Certainly Prof. Cheyne should have increased the sale of Avesta translations and expositions! He will surely have sent many of us to a perusal or re-perusal of those Gathas he praises so warmly. The generous catholic spirit in which Prof. Cheyne speaks of the religions and great men of the East is always a delightful feature of his books. It is nowhere better illustrated than in the present lectures (pp. 268, 269, 271, 280 note y, 397—401). The "critical historian of Israel" does not limit God's inspiration to the ranks of a single people.

Spiritual prophecy is not peculiar to the Semites; Zarathustra was as true and as original a prophet as Isaiah and Jeremiah. The two latter consciously received a call from Jehovah, and so did Zarathustra from the same true God under his name Ahura (p. 435).

But enthusiastic as Prof. Cheyne is about "Zarathustra" and the Gathas, he is very temperate in his estimate of the influence of Persia (as of the influence of Babylon) on the religion of Israel (pp. 269—272). His conclusion is shortly given in the analysis. "Where the same or analogous belief existed in Israel and among the Babylonians or the Persians, the development of these must have been helped forward in Israel by its contact with born adherents of the other religion" (p. 256). I do not, however, clearly gather that any important *belief* was, according to Prof. Cheyne, and, in spite of his analysis, "helped forward" in its "development" by contact with the Babylonians. His language is not quite plain upon this point, but I do not understand him to mean that II. Isaiah's uncompromising monotheism was partly produced or "helped forward" by that "genuinely Babylonian" idea of "a moral conception of God as the ruler of the universe, all powerful and all wise, just and yet compassionate" (p. 269). It would be interesting to have his judgment upon this question more distinctly defined. As regards Persia, "excluding for the present the resurrection belief" (p. 256), "it is only on such secondary points as the time of the first prayer, the number and personality of angels, and the existence of demons and evil spirits that we can imagine Jewish believers to have been directly and absolutely indebted to their new lords. To say that the lofty mysticism of the Psalms is of Persian origin is only a few degrees less rash than to derive it from Babylonia" (p. 272).

But how then stands the case with regard to that very "Resurrection belief," purposely left over in the sixth Lecture, but fully treated in the expanded second section of the final chapter of the Professor's book? That section must be read in conjunction with the two lectures on "Possible Zoroastrian Influences on the Religion of Israel," delivered in the spring of this year, and published in the June, July, and August numbers of the "Expository Times." Our author's theory is that "no important belief of the Jewish Church was in the strict sense borrowed, but that without foreign influence some of its greatest beliefs would not, so far as we can see, have been fully reached" (p. 402). Of these greatest beliefs, then, the most important are the doctrines of Resurrection and Immortality. Existing germs were quickened by contact with Zoroastrianism. Those who read Lecture VIII. part 2 (with its notes) repeatedly, together with the "Possible Zoroastrian Influences" in the "Expository Times," will I think, be much inclined to believe that, so far as such hypotheses are



capable of proof, this one has advanced several steps in that direction. But what does "contact with Zoroastrianism" mean? Not, of course, that "any of the Jews actually read the Gathic hymns" (E. T., p. 204, col. 2), but rather that "Zoroastrian ideas were in the air, and circulated freely throughout the empire. This was facilitated, so far as Israel was concerned, by the constant intercourse which existed between the Jews of Persia and Mesopotamia and those of Palestine" (E. T., p. 224, col. 1, n. 1). And "even now the ideas of book-religions are not propagated merely by their religious books" (E. T., p. 225, col. 2, n. 1).

Now in the next place, what were the germs which were developed under Zoroastrian influence? They were certain "surmises" to which Prof. Cheyne all the more willingly appeals, because "the surmises of one age become the anticipations of the next" (p. 383). There are three groups of them. (1.) Expressions such as those in Hosea vi. 2, and Ezek. xxxvii. 1-10, which "directly refer only to a national resurrection, but which imply the possibility of the resurrection of individuals." (2.) The Elisha miracle in 2 Ki. xiii. 21, the ascension of Elijah in 2 Ki. ii. 11, and the story of Enoch in Gen. v. 22. (3.) The "tree of life" story in Genesis, which "attests a belief among the Israelites as well as in Babylon in the possibility of escaping death." All these passages are either pre-Exilic or Exilic, all therefore prior to the quickening contact with Zoroastrianism.

At this point in the argument Prof. Cheyne proposes this question :—

Now, assuming, as we must, that the thinkers of the post-Exile Church brooded over these surmises, this was the question which they must have sought to answer, Can an ordinary Israelite, who is neither an Enoch nor an Elijah, and is but too apprehensive of 'secret faults,' hope so to walk with God in perfectness of heart that Sheol shall not finally prevail against him? (p. 384).

Many thinkers answered this question in the negative, but it was at least possible to answer yes, just as (perhaps it should have been added) it was even possible to ask the question, not only because of contemporaneous Zoroastrianism, but also because of an internal and native religious development by which Jehovah's covenant had now "explicitly or implicitly been extended to the individual" (p. 385). The Psalms that witness to this extension and illustrate it are those the authors of which "so strongly realise the hidden and yet revealed centre of the highest spiritual truth that I venture to call them the mystical school." And it is among the mystic psalm group, that three out of the four great test passages occur which criticism and exegesis alike may fairly interpret as referring to communion with God, or moral compensation after death (p. 390). Every student knows which these passages are, and it is unnecessary

to do more than name them, viz.: Ps. xvii. 15, xvi. 10, 11, and lxxiii. 23-26. The fourth passage is xlix. 15, 16, the first of these verses appearing to refer to a judgment-resurrection, but the second to an individualistic immortality.

Criticism, as I have just suggested, here helps exegesis. Exegetically it is possible to deny that these passages contain any reference whatever to any kind of life beyond the grave. But assuming the post-Exilic date in the late Persian or pre-Maccabæan Greek period, the contrary interpretation, exegetically at least as possible, becomes of equal, if not of greater, antecedent probability. Whether in these four passages it is implied that the "fellowship with God" shall begin immediately after death, just as the question in what bodily or spiritual condition the death-emancipated personality shall enjoy the divine communion, may be left at present uncertain. But as regards the second point, Prof. Cheyne rightly notices that the dualism of spirit and body, arising out of the dualism of God and the world, began "slowly to be recognised" in the post-Exilic period, as Ps. lxxiii. 26 clearly indicates (p. 422).

The wider interpretation of the test passages in Ps. xvi., xvii., lxxiii., as well as xlix., is therefore justified in the light of their late post-Exilic origin and the presence of Zoroastrian influences. For in the religion of "Zarathustra" there can be found the ideas (1) of personal immortality, the moral compensation of good and bad, and (2) of a subsequent bodily resurrection and of a universal judgment. A sympathetic presentment of Zoroastrian teaching on these subjects is given on pp. 394-401, with which may be compared E.T., June (pp. 204, 205).

Such being the character of the Zoroastrian ideas "in the air," to the influence of which the Jews were subjected, Prof. Cheyne then essays to show that the Psalm passages quoted above imply not only the "idea of the future moral compensation of the good," but "a general re-adjustment of circumstances," or "general retribution after death" in what was afterwards called the 'coming age' (p. 390). For the Jewish church was not uninfluenced by the profound Zoroastrian doctrine, "which came to it from a religion so congenial in some respects to its own" (p. 401). Under God's providential ruling there arose in the late Persian period "both prophets and psalmists who were able to select precisely what was needed to fill up the Church's theology. Prophetic writers eagerly assimilated the belief in a final and complete re-adjustment of circumstances to character, and Psalmists the hope of a nearer sight of God after death" (p. 402 init.).

In the Book of Isaiah there are three passages, each belonging, according to Prof. Cheyne, to the late Persian period, which

contain prophetic parallels to Psalm xlix. These are Isaiah xxv. 8, xxvi. 19, and lxvi. 22—24 (cp. lxv. 17—22). The first two distinctly refer not to immortality in our modern sense, but to the annihilation of death and the rise of the righteous at the opening of the Messianic age. As to lxvi. 24, Prof. Cheyne argues that this verse, when taken in conjunction with lxv. 17—22, and lxvi. 22, implies another part which "we have to supply for ourselves. Must not the joys of those who rest from their labours be as intense as these tortures? Must not everlasting life (localised we cannot say how) correspond to everlasting 'abhorrence'? Otherwise, the principle of compensation affirmed in Is. lxv. 13, 14, will be imperfectly carried out. Such thoughts as these must have vaguely stirred in the prophet's mind" (p. 405).

And, returning to the Psalms, it now becomes probable that the "dawn" of xlix. 15 is "a figure for the opening of the new order of things which later Judaism called 'the coming age'" (p. 406 fin.), while the "awakening" of xvii. 15 "probably means the passing of the soul into a resurrection body. The 'sleep' from which the soul awakens is, in this case, not the sleep of life, but the so-called 'sleep' of the intermediate state, which is not without a quiet and unearthly bliss, and which is described again and again in subsequent literature, and hinted at, not indeed in Ps. cxlix. 5, but perhaps in Ps. xxii. 30" (p. 407, cp. p. 430, note *p*). As regards xvi. 10, 11, and lxxiii. 24—27, it is not certain whether these passages also refer to a renewal of life not immediately after death, but only at the Judgment Day or Messianic era, and thus, like the authors of xlix. and xvii., "assume an intermediate state of departed souls."

In this case, they leap over the 'sleep,' in their eagerness for the 'awakening.' But in the light of Zoroastrian belief it is permissible to think that the soul, according to these writers, passes directly from this world to the Beatific Vision. It would be absurd to dogmatise on such a point. The latter opinion seems to tally best with the high mysticism of Ps. xvi. and lxxiii., and, in spite of what has been said above, we may, if we will, interpret Ps. xvii. on the same theory . . . . Still there is nothing in the former theory to which the mystic Psalmists might not, in deference to the majority, have accommodated themselves. The world's great change was expected so shortly that the brief waiting-time might easily be leaped over, and, as we have seen, the interval was not one of gloom and distress for the righteous. The fate of the wicked in both worlds is possibly alluded to in Pss. xvi. 4a, lxxiii. 27; at any rate, the Psalmists must have known that some of their readers would suppose this (pp. 407 fin., 408 init.).

With these results obtained from the four test Psalms, Prof. Cheyne proceeds to argue for the presumption of the "largest view" in some other passages of far more doubtful interpretation, *i.e.*,

xxxvi. 10; xi. 7; cxi. 14; xli. 13; lxiii. 9, 10; xxi. 5; xlv. 3; lxxii. 5. (p. 408; cp. E.T., August, pp. 248-253).

The general conclusion that "among the religious ideas of the Psalter are those of immortality and resurrection" (p. 409), found already in the late Persian period, is then confirmed and justified by parallel but more developed passages in the subsequent literature. Such parallels are not to be traced in the Wisdom literature, whether of the Old Testament or of the (Palestinian) Apocrypha, but from the Maccabæan age onward there is a rich ingathering of the n to be reaped from other sources. First comes the famous passage in Maccabean Daniel, xii. 2, which surely should have been considered here rather than among the Isaiah quotations of the Persian period. Here, in 164 B.C., "we have a definite doctrine of resurrection expressed in a way which shows that it was no novelty. The seeds which Zoroastrianism and some earlier Jewish writers had sown had sprung up" (p. 406). Then in order are briefly discussed illustrative passages in the Psalms of Solomon, the Book of Enoch, the New Testament, the older Rabbinical literature, the Targums, and finally in Josephus' statements respecting the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes. Here, however, the student must follow the Professor for himself. I would only call attention to the slow growth of the conception of "a foretaste of the Beatific Vision prior to the judgment" (p. 413), of "an immediate vision of God by the departed righteous soul" (p. 414). For this conception, which Prof. Cheyne rightly calls the "goal," is practically the only form of a future life which has any meaning or reality to the modern world. Both conceptions, however, whether that of judgment resurrection, or personal and immediate immortality, can be illustrated in Palestinian Jewish writings, and are there the product of Persian influence and not of Greek (p. 423—425). With a brief argument to sustain this theory the lectures are brought to a close.

Unable as I have always been to cordially accept the narrower interpretation of Psalms xvi., xvii., xlix., and lxiii., while yet almost equally unable to clearly see my way to an emphatic acceptance of the contrary hypothesis, I confess that the arguments and illustrations in Prof. Cheyne's eighth Lecture have largely enabled me to understand how criticism may urge us on towards that fuller interpretation which is, at any rate, possible, if not even probable, on purely exegetical grounds. I hope that other and riper students who were similarly undecided may be similarly helped forward in the direction of Prof. Cheyne's view. For though it is of no great intrinsic importance whether the doctrine of immortality was reached in Israel a few decades earlier or later, it is pleasant to think that we need not go beyond the Old Testament (even so far as the Wisdom of

Solomon) to greet its first appearance. It is even more pleasant to find the doctrine in the Psalter, the devotional Encheiridion among the Biblical books, and reclaimed there for those Psalms in which from childhood we were taught to seek it.

My analysis of the Bampton Lectures has spread to greater length than I had at first intended, and I have no space to call attention to any of the numerous subsidiary points of interest scattered throughout the book. In conclusion I would only indicate, as is but just in the pages of a Jewish magazine, the full knowledge shown by Prof. Cheyne of the researches of modern Jewish scholars. A glance at the Index reveals the names of Castelli, Derenbourg, Frankl, Freudenthal, Geiger, Golziher, Graetz, Halévy, Joel, Jost, Kalisch, Kohut, Krochmal, Neubauer, Sachs and Zunz, some of whom are repeatedly quoted in Prof. Cheyne's pages. Lastly, treading for one moment upon dangerous ground, I should like to ask unprejudiced Jewish readers of Prof. Cheyne's book to a careful consideration of the three opening paragraphs of the seventh Lecture. I have above quoted the closing words of the same lecture as an illustration of the author's candour and sympathy on a subject which Christian scholars are naturally accustomed to treat in the light of Christian prepossessions. The outset of the lecture may enable Jewish readers to set themselves a lesson in the same essential qualities for the student of religious history. To the great questions opened up by those initial paragraphs I hope, should life be granted me, at some future, even if distant, time to return.

C. G. MONTEFIORE.

Santa Caterina, August 11th, 1891.

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### The Jews of Russia.

*Les Juifs de Russie: Recueil d'articles et d'études sur leur situation légale, sociale et économique.* Paris: Librairie Léopold Cerf, 1891. Pp. 447. Pr. 3fr. 50c.

M. ISIDORE LOEB, the learned and accomplished secretary of the *Alliance Israélite*, has made a noteworthy contribution to the literature of the Russo-Jewish question in this volume. The work is partly original, and partly a compendium of the chief articles that have already appeared on the subject. Some of these are translations of well-known English essays and pamphlets, as E. B. Lanin's famous *Fortnightly* article, "The Jews in Russia"; *Blackwood's* article on "The Czar and the Jews"; the Russo-Jewish Committee's pamphlet on "The Persecution of the Jews in Russia"; the report of the Man-